631
634

Shluh MW11

[For information on the amazzal (water administrators) and the imchchurd'a (guardians), see Category 624.]

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins.
634 At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talïint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./
174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint be-
[776] came /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

[423] The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s, and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/89 cont./

173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, [538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flour- [171] ish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

● 631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might [671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any [774] one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same 181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/90 cont./

181 sacred and the profane, aptitude for history: these four characteristics are correlative.

• 631 Thus, then, the power of the leaders is completely temporal. It proceeds from the consensus of assemblies, which one occasionally sees meeting with a first appearance of constitutional regularity with periodic comitia, holy places, fixed procedure, etc. It is also by contractual routes, but from which he tries little by little to break away, that the chief becomes greater. He arrogates to [661] himself more than his share of the spoils of the vanquished at the time of distributions of booty. He enlarges his lands through deceit and pressure. It is especially in this landed-property aspect that his citizens see him advance. They are sensitive to it, for it injures their material interests, but also shocks their conception of legitimacy. Deprived of popular assent, the chief tends to become a tyrant. Not without revengeful onslaughts of the jemâa-s, each time that defeat or death weakens his work. Thus tyranny appears as a phenomenon of voracity, of expansion, archaic form of economic concentration. And it stirs up reactions, of which a number of documents are the echo.

/91/ This said, is it not strange that this phenomenon is reproduced at different times, with the same characteristics? For example, the Imt'ddan had their great amghar, whose power projected over the Dwiran, indeed, over the Indmaghus: Bwizugman. It is he who achieved the driving back of the a. Gasa, started more than a century before. The Idma, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, had Lh'âjj Bujmâ, who monopolized the lands of the valley, until the plague killed him and the community got rid of his sons.

Such expansions, one will see, discover their limits in the [423] landed-property customs and the mechanisms of local law. Thus [428] they cannot go very far. Often tradition mentions such a great personage, amghar or other, spread broadly over his landed estates, but who dies without male descendants: everything returns to the collective regulation. Such was the case of Bwizugman, and such also the one of another rich man of the high a. Âbdella. These silhouettes of great chiefs are not rare. Over the

/91 cont./

631 lapse of two centuries that the memory of the cantons restores, we know of several who paralyze for a time the egalitarian rhythms of the taqbilt-s. Ascents followed by falls: quite a political sinusoid is thus profiled in the shadows of the past.

648 Occasionally the amplitude of the variation is such that a third factor interveneS: the Makhzen /makhzan/. Then the whole game is thrown off, or at least another contest starts. Thus the vicissitudes of personal power lose their integrally montagnard physiognomy. That happened but little among the Seksawa, except in uncertain fashion. In a. H'adduyws, an attempt of this order in the second half of the nineteenth century failed before the reaction of the citizens. Whence a scene in the manner of Nouvelles asiatiques /Asiatic News/.

175 631 648

/The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Moh'ammed u Mançur lived peacefully with the a. Bah'ammô. A large harvest of walnuts, the abuse of whey, and the perfidious counsel of a friend, Amstak, originally from the H'âh'a, filled him with ambition. The evil counselor and he left for Marrakech and conferred with the guardian of the mausoleum of Sidi bel ᶜAbbâs in order for him to put them in contact with the sultan. He thus hid them in an armoire. On a day that Mulay H'asân made a visit to the saint, they rose up before him. After bargaining, he conceded to Moh'ammed the investiture of caid over the a. H'adduyws for the payment of 5,000 reals.

[661]

The new caid set out again for his tribe. But he had hardly arrived at the bottom of the Seksawa valley when his brothers advised him that they did not want him. He judged it more prudent to delay. Returning to Marrakech, and reaching the Asif el-Mâl, he bequeathed his ambitions to Amstak. Then he climbed the mountain and reassumed the modest appearance that the a. H'adduyws had always /92/ known for him, in return for which they accepted him and allowed him to live with the a. Bah'ammô as before.

Amstak pushed the adventure further. From the irritated Sultan he obtained a general order to the tribes of the plain to

/92 cont./

175 631 648 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different. The fqih-s of the ait Âbdella are called ᶜadûl. A dahir /decree/ [693] even named a cadi, si ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. ᶜAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

175 648 651 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of 19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the ᶜachûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the ᶜummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Âbdella: to which many other influences contributed.

/106 cont./

312 648 619 (634) (628) Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran and the Ud Besseba^{c} is found in a. Abdella, at least for most of them. The relations with the Ud Besseba^{c}, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wâdi'l-Qâhra and the Ud Besseba^{c} being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Besseba^{c}, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran. Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Abdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

631 312 619

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Abdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

[Ait Musa Ufella]
[Ibuban]

Now, not only has
/207 cont./ this territory not offered for at least
178 half a century a favorable field for the preservation of traditional
175 organizations, since it has fed the fortune of a family of chiefs and, like Bul^{c}wān downstream, it has often been the cadre of interventions of the power of the plain, but also it was occupied by
[631] the enemy for 20 years, as is known. The "caid" Chtittihi having been killed, his family took refuge at Z'init'. The country was almost entirely colonized by the "caid" Mokhtar, his conqueror. The a. Musa did not return until 1927. Yet one of them had probably sold the totality of the perimeter to a European protector: at least the latter argued this in the course of a long and violent litigation, which was not settled by the Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/ in favor of the a. Musa until very recent years. Violent expulsion; then de facto reoccupation, depositing of a demand for collective registering, and of a counter-demand by the European purchaser, collective and privative oppositions, investigations, judgments, arrest: all that was necessary in order to settle again juridically, after a disturbance of half a century, the ownership of the a. Musa.

Now, on the one hand, in the course of this litigation the parcellary rule -- which would have explained everything -- was never invoked; and, on the other hand, it was according to it, and down to the details, that the a. Musa have resettled. Let us reflect on which of these two facts is the most revealing of the organization and psychology of the Seksawa.

Albur country: E. the Ibuban, ...

133 This high country is covered with an epaulement by a crest that falls on the E. into the trench of the asif n.-a. Mh'nd. On all sides political frontiers torment an ensemble henceforth closed. Formerly, it was supposed to have access to water and access to the two great routes from the mountains to the plain, by way of the torrents of the a. Mh'nd and of the a. Lh'sen. It has lost them. To the E. the peaks of the Awrir n-Zkkat', of the Ameznir, and of the Ferkt, this latter overlooking the ground of the Tizi n-Wandras (1,656 meters), now constitute a limit

[Mez'ud'a]

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 184 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor [312] of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

• 631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 423 178 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighârgharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 613 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of [794] the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its [666] support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

796 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/422 cont./

619 634 The title of taqbilt is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confederation" for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. [613] Within the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is interposed between the ikhs, as we have restrictively defined it, and subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable, less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear. A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a jemâa, the success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as independent. [631] It was in this way that the khoms of the Idaw Merzug was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or that the three oriental myawat of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifa, for a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lêvi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohadé history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not only because of the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ survivals of group names up to the present time that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps especially, because of the changes that have taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehension of these names. [616] It has justly been noted that the names of the two famous leff-s, Imsifern and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite different from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

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[For general information on the territorial organization of the Shluh, including specific data on the confederations and the "great chiefs" or caids, see Category 116, pp. 48-49, 64-65, 153-188, 190-192, 199-201, 204-205, 211-221, 239-240, 248-249, 259, 299-300, 350, 354-355, 368, 371, 380, 385-387, 396-405, 409-424, 428-473, 480-481, 487-516, and 520-531.]

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAïsi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
• [631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
189 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[422] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[423] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

*175 •[631] [726]

/63 cont./ The large confederations of the Moroccan South as a matter of fact in our day still have the custom of assembling their contingents and throwing them into combat in a succession exactly determined and known to all; doubtless it was already like that at the time of Ibn Toumert. From that time on it sufficed to utilize the secret penchant of these egalitarian montagnards for ceremonial, their taste for the theatrical spectacle, to bend them to a rigorous discipline. In the heart of the Atlas, in a verdant basin of the Nefis surrounded by the wooded crests of the Wichedden, the snowy mass of the Wanoukrim, the red mountains of the Tizi n Imiri, the Tinmellel camp then saw unfold innumerable defiles of the tribes destined to fix the tradition and found the institutions of the new kingdom. The order of succession was regulated by the services rendered for the sacred cause of the Mahdi; the first who came forward were the Hargha, brothers of his father; then the Tinmellel, brothers of his mother; then came the Hintata first to assemble, the Gedmiwa; finally the Genfisa, a little lukewarm and sometimes coming into the community against their will. The place of each notable and of each fraction was noted with care on registers kept by the comrades closest to the master. Thus the control of the army of the Mahdi and the titles of nobility of those who were to become the Almohade sheiks were established at the same time.

During the first years, for combat and the dividing up of the booty, the "Tamyiz" was the fundamental institution of the small State of the /64/ Masmouda. A test of the solidity of that hierarchy was soon made in a striking manner. After the death of the Mahdi, kept secret for three years, when the council of Ten had accepted as leader the foreigner ʿAbd el Moumen, the tribes defiling before the new caliph in the prescribed order recognized him as their master, putting at his service an organized force that was going to enable him to bring about in twenty years the conquest of the Occident (1).

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 137 and sqq.

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

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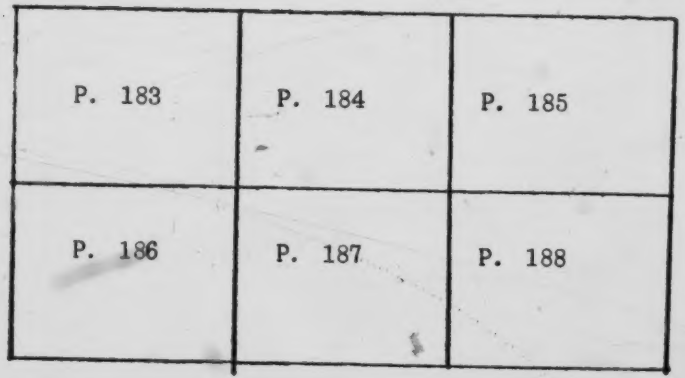

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

/165 cont./

*631 typical example; made up of 12 tribes, each having three, four,
619 or five khoms, they give, by their cohesion and unity, an im-
*634 pression of constituting a homogeneous whole that has traditions and a life of its own. In other confederations, on the contrary, the bonds uniting the tribes are very loose; they are hardly more than amorphous masses of little autonomous cantons, such as the Chtouka of the plain, the Aït Waouzgit or, above all, the Gedmiwa, whose mutual bond is nearly indefinable, if one examines the state in which these groups present themselves today.

*631 One can also, being inspired by historical considerations,
175 distinguish the confederations that have had a very long existence, attested to by the most ancient writers, and that in the majority have existed up to our day -- the Haha, the Gedmiwa, the Aït Waouzgit, and others that appear to us, on the contrary, like more recent, spontaneous, factitious, in the etymological sense of the word, creations constituted for a fixed purpose; the best example is that of the Ida Ou Tanan.

•631 These two classifications, morphological and historical, are not mutually exclusive; the ancient and stable confederations can, as a matter of fact, be organized, as among the Haha, or else amorphous, as among the Gedmiwa; the factitious confederations can be strongly constructed and durable, like the Ida Ou Tanan, or, on the contrary, ephemeral and loose, like that group of the Aït Tamedlou whom de Foucauld knew not long ago in the Sirwa and of whom at present we find no more than the memory.

*631 The feeling of community of origin does not explain the unity
619 of the confederations any better than that of the tribes. The diverse provenance of the elements out of which they were formed as of our day is obvious enough. Moreover, one could not attempt to attribute to the people who belong to these large ensembles a fixed ethnic type; or at least if a few morphological characteristics do appear common to the inhabitants of the same region, it would be necessary to see in them the result of a local adaptation to the conditions of existence rather than proof of their common descent.

Having reached
121 /184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
178 finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
*634 the period of the development of personal power and that the
616 transformations that have taken place since then are explained
•631 by the political action of the great chiefs.

II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
*634 the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
616 narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at the end of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghaïa, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/260 cont./

343 712 * 634 726 • [631] As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute natural centers of resistance against the domination of the great chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

[175] * [631] It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nineteenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 712 178 726 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact, the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/308 cont./

175 159 *634 578 [682] In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coalition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassinated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage. The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/ [726] [712] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered; the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

175 159 *634 •631 578 726 616 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when the amghar of the Aït ʿAbdaliah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his territory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

175 159 *631 *634 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi, who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jū*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums thakhammasth* } ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

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613
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4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 666 527 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertainment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the conclusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 666 [643] To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a candidate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 631 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The respondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

[621] [613] [182]

635 554 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

mité sur des solutions qui, en cherchant à ménager tous les intérêts, risquaient souvent de ne satisfaire personne (Loubignac, 1942, p. 284).

635 This conflict between the tribal chief and the tribal council, which
631 in the pre-Protectorate period generally resulted in victory for the
669 representative council among the Beraber, Riffians, and Shluh of
175 the Anti-Atlas, was resolved in favor of the chiefs among the Shluh of the western High Atlas. Here, a number of chiefs, taking advantage of the general state of inter-tribal warfare existing around 1893, seized absolute power within their tribes and, with the help of arms smuggled in from the coast, extended the areas of their control and established quasi-feudal caidates. The most important of these existed in the High Atlas between Safi and Mogador on the coast, to the Dades-Dra region, and included the caidates of the Abdas (headed by Si Aissa Ben Omar), of the Hahas (Anflous), the M'Tougas (Si Abd el Malek), the Goundafas (Si Tayeb Goundafi), the Glaouas (Si Madani Glaoui, and later his brother Haji Thami Glaoui), and the Ahensals (Sidi Moh Hansali) (Great Britain, 1919, pp. 157-161; La Chapelle, 1928; Montagne, 1928; 1930, pp. 269-364, 395-400; 1949, pp. 116-117).

The principalities established by these conquering *imgharin* were generally organized after the pattern established by the *Makhzen*, and somewhat resembled small independent feudal states in medieval Europe. Each *amghar* or *caid* nominally acknowledged the Sultan as temporal ruler, but actually remained independent. Each *caid* assumed the ultimate power and authority, as well as title to the land, by right of conquest. Each governed his domain through deputies, known as *khulafa'* (pl. of *khalifa*), who were usually, though not always, members of his family. Each *caid* and *khalifa* resided in a heavily fortified residence (actually a palace) known as a *kasbah* (pl. *kisab*), together with his household, men and women who tilled the land surrounding the castle for the owner's profit, masons, carpenter, a cobbler and a tailor, and the manager of a small food shop. In the literature on southern Morocco, the term *kasbah* is often erroneously applied to a *ksar*; such usage is only correct in the relatively infrequent case that a *ksar* contains a *kasbah* as at Ouarzazate (Landau, 1951, pp. 82-83).